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Re-Indigenizing National Parks: Toward a Theoretical Model of Re-Indigenization

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Abstract

National parks serve as important sites of cultural heritage and nature protection, yet they are also colonial constructs and can represent loss of traditional homelands and cultural heritage to the many Indigenous peoples who previously inhabited these now bordered spaces of nature. This has resulted in the near silencing of Indigenous voices, practices, and values related to the natural world. Despite ongoing problems, during the past decade there have been efforts to develop more inclusive policies and practices through collaboration between Indigenous peoples and non-native administrators. This shift in Indigenous engagement provides scholars a new opportunity to investigate their role within nation-states and conservation. This article addresses this urgent and timely topic within the emerging concept of re-indigenization, which is based on Indigenous ontologies and traditional ecological knowledge highlighting Indigenous agency, values and initiatives. I am approaching the topic from a cultural standpoint investigating forms of successful collaboration between Indigenous peoples and non-native stakeholders of protected spaces of nature as stages of re-indigenization.

Keywords: re-indigenization, traditional indigenous ecological knowledge, indigenous ontologies, national parks

Introduction

A river can be a person. In 2017, after 140 years of negotiations, the Māori of New Zealand secured from the government the acknowledgement that the river Te Awa Tupua is a person. It has a legal identity with all the corresponding rights, duties, and liabilities of a legal person. For the Māori, this river, like so many other non-human entities in nature, has its own identity, and it has been respected and acknowledged in ceremonies for centuries. Now a nation's government, operating mainly through Western values and worldviews, has officially accepted another way of understanding the world. (Te Awa Tupua 2017.) In short, Te Awa Tupua has been re-indigenized. The term re-indigenization has not yet been widely used in academic discourses. It derives from a more commonly used term "indigenization," but I will argue here that it is a more precise and valuable term, especially when discussing spaces of colonial construction and dispossession that are gradually seeking to regain their indigeneity. Re-Indigenization or giving personhood to a river or any other object in nature must not, however,

be seen overly simplistically as a positive development only. The historian Brad Coombes, for example, has noted that while many see this as a positive development, it carries with it a plethora of legal, moral, and other sensitive issues that need to be addressed and resolved. (Coombes 2018.)

Throughout history, the worldviews of Indigenous peoples have been pushed aside, even in discourses on nature preservation and conservation. Attempts to understand Indigenous concepts of nature have only recently become incorporated into political, legal, and academic debates. This discourse between Indigenous peoples, government agencies, environmentalist organizations, and academia began decades ago and is still ongoing, but few have addressed it through the lens of Indigenous worldviews that include traditional ecological knowledge and other-than-human dimensions. (Krech 2000; Ross et al. 2016.)

This article will bring these differing concepts of nature to the forefront of discussions on the environment, sustainability, and nature protection. The article is part of a larger project that addresses this urgent and timely topic within the emerging concept of re-indigenization, which is based on Indigenous ontologies and traditional ecological knowledge, while highlighting Indigenous agency and initiatives. While my larger project will aim at developing a theoretical model for re-indigenization that can be applied across disciplinary fields and in other, global, contexts, this article explores how various forms of collaboration in selected protected spaces of nature, mostly in North America, can be understood as stages of re-indigenization by asking questions, such as: 1) What forms of co-operation, that is, stages of re-indigenization, have been developed or are currently in place, and how are Indigenous voices, ontologies, and epistemologies taken into consideration in the management of these protected spaces? 2) How can various levels of collaboration be investigated as stages of re-indigenization?

National Parks as Colonized Spaces

National parks have become iconic symbols of nature protection and important sites for global cultural heritage. In fact, UNESCO has recognized several national parks as World Heritage sites. At times, national parks have been used to promote political, patriotic, and nationalistic agendas. While national parks serve as important sites of cultural heritage and nature protection, they are also colonial constructs and, as such, can represent the loss of traditional

homelands and cultural heritage to the many Indigenous peoples who previously inhabited those now bordered spaces of nature. In fact, for generations Indigenous peoples have suffered from dispossession, treaty violations of hunting and fishing rights, and the loss of sacred places at the hands of national parks and other protected spaces of nature around the world. Indeed, policymakers from the United States to Brazil to Russia have ignored Indigenous voices and perspectives when it comes to the preservation and management of protected nature areas, such as national parks, wilderness areas, and marine sanctuaries. (Spence 1999; Igoe 2003.) This has resulted in many Indigenous communities having tense, even antagonistic, relations with government-protected spaces of nature, most of which nation-states had carved out of Indigenous homelands. Indigenous voices, practices, and values related to the natural world have been all but silenced at a time when they might be useful in the battle against climate change. The climate change denial witnessed in some countries calls for academics to bring in new voices and approaches. Climate change affects Indigenous populations from the Arctic to the Amazon and is closely tied to conversations about dispossession, identity, indigeneity, and sovereignty. (Climate Change and Indigenous People 2008; Ferris 2013; Kelman & Naess 2013; Nakashima et al. 2018.)

National parks are constructed spaces of nature, with specific boundaries, sets of rules, and regulations that are aimed at guiding how people are supposed to act in that place. In creating protected spaces of nature, nation-states have built their management strategies on Western notions of wilderness preservation, and thus, “the way of being” is based on Euro-American worldviews (Carbaugh 2019b, 35-45). As colonial constructs, and because of the resulting dispossession of Indigenous people, these protected spaces have lost their indigeneity. As such, they provide an excellent case for investigating re-indigenization in a confined, managed, yet conflicted, environment. By adopting re-indigenization as the core concept of study, I seek to highlight and bring into academic discourses Indigenous philosophies and ways of knowing.

Despite ongoing problems, during the past decade there have been efforts to develop more inclusive policies and management practices through various forms of collaboration between Indigenous peoples and non-native administrators of nature-protected areas. I will approach the topic from a cultural standpoint, investigating forms of successful collaboration between Indigenous peoples and non-native stakeholders of protected spaces of nature as stages of re-indigenization. This collaboration between park services and Indigenous peoples can include

various degrees of incorporating Indigenous participation, knowledge, and ways of knowing. The stages of re-indigenization in the context of protected spaces of nature can range from the simple inclusion of Indigenous stories to more profound collaboration, where the park service and Indigenous peoples have developed a joint management plan for a situation where national park land has been returned to Indigenous peoples. An example of the latter scenario can be found in New Zealand, where Te Urewera National Park was returned to the Tūhoe Māori in 2014. The former park is still operated as a national park, but on Tūhoe terms and under their management. (Te Urewera Act 2014.)

Indigenous Ontologies and Traditional Ecological Knowledge

The romantic stereotype of Indigenous peoples being magically connected to nature has in recent years been replaced by a more nuanced understanding and respect for what many call an "Indigenous way of being." World-renowned Lakota scholar Vine Deloria, Jr. noted that "Indians [i.e. Indigenous people] do not talk about nature as some kind of concept or something 'out there.' They talk about the immediate environment in which they live. They do not embrace all trees or love every river or mountain. What is important is the relationship you have with a particular tree or a particular mountain" (Scinta & Foehner 1999, 223–224). What Deloria was alluding to is the notion of *relationality*, or the cultural premise that one is always already connected or in a specific relationship, rooted in ecological kinship and meaning. This relationality based in kinship is sometimes referred to as "kincentric ecology." (Moreton-Robinson 2017, 69–77; Salmón 2000, 1327–1332.)

For many Indigenous peoples, time and place are linked through connection to lands and waters, to places they hunt and fish, and to where their ancestors have lived and been buried. It is not only the visible world, but also the invisible, spiritual world, that manifests itself through and in nature. Indigenous people do not differentiate between the everyday world and the nonhuman, sacred world; both worlds belong to the same experienced universe. One could argue that Indigenous peoples study nature from an ecological perspective and that their knowledge of the ecosystem is interconnected in their belief systems. Potawatomi scholar Robin Wall Kimmerer calls for a broadening of our ecological consciousness by including the stories and heritage of Indigenous peoples in academic and public discourses. Indigenous peoples' understanding of the plant and animal worlds are vital for our understanding of the

environment and the changes that are occurring in our time. (Kimmerer 2003; Kimmerer 2015; Minnis & Elisens 2000; Gordon & Krech 2002; Edington 2017.) Kimmerer refers to Indigenous Traditional Knowledge or Traditional Ecological Knowledge (TEK), which can be summarized, in the words of Chumash educators Alicia Cordero and Luhui Isha, as

> a knowledge system or worldview of human-environment relations that incorporates spirituality, cultural values, ethics, and the basic norms of society, and is passed down through generations, often through oral tradition. TEK is a living body of knowledge that includes environmental observations and experiences that occur in places and within an Indigenous cultural context; as such, TEK is embedded in culture and cannot be separated from the people and places where it is generated. (Cordero & Isha 2018, 13.)

Traditional Indigenous ecological knowledge has become an integral part of Indigenous studies, which, as a field of science, has seen a tremendous boom in academia over the past two decades. It is a highly cross-disciplinary field bringing together methods and theories ranging from political science to history and anthropology, from area and cultural studies to cultural heritage studies, or from religious studies to sustainability and environmental studies, to name just a few. It highlights the importance of Indigenous agency and belonging. Whatever the approach may be, the overreaching theoretical premise comes from ethical Indigenous studies. (AIATSIS 2000; Battiste 2007, 111–132; Raven 2010, 36–47; Windchief & San Pedro 2019.)

In creating protected spaces of nature, nation-states have often built their management strategies on Western notions of wilderness preservation and excluded Indigenous worldviews, that is, their traditional ecological knowledge. In Finland, the Malla Nature Reserve does not allow the Sámi to herd reindeer within its perimeters for fear that this practice would degrade the “pristine wilderness” of the park. (Magga & Ojanlatva 2015; Turi 2016; Paltto 2017.) This is an old problem, but in other parts of the world native communities have restored access to culturally important sites that are currently located within protected spaces of nature. In fact, there are cases where newly established co-operation strengthens the relationship between Indigenous people and settler-colonial states, and through access to culturally significant sites this co-operation also strengthens both Indigenous identity and sovereignty (Reid 2018). On

Vancouver Island, in Canada, a multilevel co-operation effort has developed between the Nuu-Chah-Nulth people and Pacific Rim National Park. It aims at a fuller inclusion of tribal members in various forms of the park's operations. (Parks Canada n.d.; Carbaugh & Rudnick 2006, 167–184.) There are also examples where traditional ecological and place-based knowledge, when accepted as legitimate part of the management of an area, such as a national park, has helped the ecosystem to recover (Cordero & Isha 2018; Ross et al. 2016; Nelson & Shilling 2018). In Olympic National Park in Washington state (USA), the Elwha River, which experienced major destruction over the past 150 years, has now been restored in a joint operation between the park and the Klallam Nation. When dams have been removed, salmon and other fish have returned to the river, which in turn affects other animal populations and plant diversity in the area. This is one of the largest river restoration projects in the world to extensively combine Indigenous traditional ecological knowledge with "Western" science. For the Klallam, the restoration of the river has tremendous cultural, economic, and spiritual value, and working with the project has led to significant cultural revitalization. In September 2019, the Klallam Nation awarded the Elwha River the rights of a person. (Draft Environmental Impact Statement; Crane 2011; Andersson et al. 2014.)

Indigenous People and National Parks – Changing Paradigms

Although most recent scholarship discusses the political and economic processes affecting protected areas and Indigenous peoples, they still focus on the negative impacts on Indigenous peoples (Stevens 2014; Keller & Turek 1998; Burnham 2000; Nabokov & Loendorf 2004; Thompson et al. 2015). For example, Stan Stevens's groundbreaking study, *Indigenous Peoples, National Parks, and Protected Areas: A New Paradigm Linking Conservation, Culture and Rights* (2014), classifies the many ways in which Indigenous peoples have *suffered* from the creation of protected areas. Stevens summarizes the various forms of displacement and marginalization as follows: 1) spatial and physical, which includes forced relocation and a lack of access to traditional territories; 2) economic effects, including restrictions or bans on land and marine use, loss of livelihood, loss of access to food security, water, shelter, and so forth, as well as a lack of benefits from revenues from protected areas; 3) political effects, such as a loss of territorial control and self-governance, a loss of authority over cultural sites; 4) cultural effects, including a loss of shared life in homelands, a loss of care for homelands, a

loss of access to cultural sites and resources, and a lack of respect for cultural practices, livelihoods, and customary law and governance (Stevens 2014, 38).

What has gone mostly unnoticed by academic writers is that Indigenous communities and practitioners, such as park rangers and educators, have in recent years found productive ways to engage with and in national parks and other protected spaces of nature. This shift in Indigenous engagement with national parks provides scholars a new opportunity to investigate their role within nation-states and conservation. While "decolonizing academia" has been the focus of much research within Indigenous Studies over the past two decades, there has been a growing call to seek more in-depth concepts that add new dimensions to decolonization discourse. In the words of Māori intellectual Linda Tuhiwai Smith, decolonization is "recognized as a long-term process involving the bureaucratic, cultural, linguistic and psychological divesting of colonial power" (Tuhiwai Smith 2012, 101; Archibald et al. 2019.) As introduced above, a useful concept that can add new dimensions to decolonization is re-indigenization. Re-indigenization is a term that has only recently entered academic discourses and has not yet taken specific forms. It derives from indigenization, but I argue that it is more useful in contexts that emphasize the significance of places and events that have been colonized and are now regaining Indigenous presence and meanings. At its simplest form, it can refer to collecting Indigenous oral stories or school children learning about native language and uses of plants, at one end, to the more complicated legal battles to reinstate Indigenous names for rivers or mountains or the return of homelands from nation-states to their original owners at the other. At its core, it deals with issues such as dispossession, identity, indigeneity, and sovereignty, but it highlights Indigenous agency and importantly is based on Indigenous knowledge, initiatives, and values. (Facio & Lara 2014; McKinnon et al. 2017.)

Re-indigenization as a concept acknowledges that Indigenous worldviews, knowledges, and perspectives are equally valid views of the world as "Western" worldviews, it incorporates Indigenous ways of knowing and doing, and thus, emphasizes indigeneity. Re-indigenization also requires non-Indigenous people to acknowledge, recognize, and accept Indigenous worldviews and to respect that those worldviews are equal in merit to other views. This concept also acknowledges Indigenous traditional knowledges, ontologies, and epistemologies as relevant methodological tools. The challenge, as Tuhiwai Smith has pointed out, has been for

the academia to accept Indigenous knowledges as legitimate tools and to merge and apply them within "Western" notions of science (Tuhiwai Smith 2012, 215–226).

Stages of Re-Indigenization

In developing a model for re-indigenization within the context of nature protection, I approach re-indigenization as the symbolic tip of a conceptual orientation to transforming views of nature's protected places. This orientation is an integrative approach that brings together 1) various views of protected natural places, 2) different, competing cultural interpretations of these places, and 3) diverse approaches to managing each place. The process of re-indigenization involves the crucial elements of discovering Indigenous place-based knowledge, identifying collaborators in the integration of this knowledge into appropriate institutions (e.g., park services, government bodies), and formulating as well as transforming policy based on this knowledge and these collaborations. (Carbaugh 2019a.) During my research I have noticed that there is no general formula or model for collaborative efforts for national parks and Indigenous peoples that could be used to develop more in-depth co-operation. Basically, each park and the surrounding Indigenous groups are alone in their efforts, everyone "re-inventing the wheel" as they go. (Farrell 2019.) Therefore, stages of re-indigenization and the subsequent theoretical model I am developing will provide a practical way forward from colonized to re-indigenized and help invested parties to move from one stage to another according to their own needs and schedules.

The following examples illustrate various stages of re-indigenization. Yellowstone, the world's first national park, was established on the traditional homelands of the Sheepeater, Bannock, Shoshone, Arapaho, Crow, and Blackfeet Indians in 1871. The main reason for establishing the park was, without question, its natural beauty and many volcanic features. The works by artist Thomas Moran and photographer William Henry Jackson, who attended Ferdinand V. Hayden's expedition to Yellowstone in 1871, convinced the U.S. Congress that these natural wonders should be protected, not necessarily for nature's sake but for future generations to admire. At Yellowstone, the native presence was from the start pushed aside with respect to the park's operations, even its marketing. (Nabokov & Loendorf 2004; Black 2013; Andersson et al. 2014, 144–155; Farrell 2017; MacDonald 2018.) This is rather surprising since, for example, Glacier National Park, in Montana, used Native Americans as a marketing tool from

the establishment of the park in 1910 to at least the 1950s. The way Glacier dealt with surrounding Indian tribes could be called blatant exploitation based on racism rather than co-operation. However, since the 1980s the Native American presence in the park narrative has increased dramatically. For example, the Blackfeet, who call the park the "Backbone of the World," began a lecture series called Native America Speaks, which brought native stories back to the park. The initiative was begun by Jack Gladstone, a well-known Blackfeet singer and musician. As another development and yet another story of the park, the Blackfeet are operating a private bus tour (Glacier Sun Tours) that is very different form the tour offered by the park service. Despite a very negative past between Glacier National Park and the Blackfeet, new forms of collaboration have emerged and a more balanced interpretation and understanding of the park is gradually emerging. (Carbaugh & Rudnick 2006; Carbaugh 2019b; Carbaugh 2018, 34–49; Thompson et al. 2015.)

In Yellowstone, however, Native stories remain marginal to this day. In the park advertisement, in brochures, at visitor centers and on internet pages, Native Americans are barely mentioned. When mentioned, it is most often in relation to the past. While Native Americans used the current park area actively until the late 19th century, the park is mostly interested in promoting their pre-contact activities, such as prehistoric petroglyphs, or in simply noting that the park area was not in active use due to its geothermal features. This is of course not the full story. Another event that receives some attention took place in 1877, when a group of desperate Nez Percé Indians escaped through the park towards Canada. Today, the surrounding tribes are trying to work with the park, especially when it comes to maintaining or controlling the park's bison herds. During the past twenty years, Yellowstone has attempted to approach several local tribes, meetings have been held and conversations have begun, but the actual results have remained meager, for various reasons. (Nabokov & Loendorf; Andersson 2019.) So, for my re-indigenization model, Yellowstone serves as the baseline, Stage 1, a park with practically no collaboration with Indigenous communities.

If Yellowstone serves as a starting point, then Wind Cave National Park in South Dakota presents a great example of how the views of Indigenous people, the Lakota (Western branch of the Sioux Nation), have only recently been incorporated into the park's narrative. Wind Cave became a national park in 1903, the first cave to be recognized with that status. For the Lakota, this cave, *Oníya Ošóka*, is the place where the people were born, and it holds tremendous

cultural and spiritual value. In 1876, the Lakotas were forced to relinquish the Black Hills area, including Wind Cave, through the *Sioux Act of 1876*. However, for the past 100 years the park service has completely ignored the Lakota presence in the park. The starting point for the park's narrative was the "discovery" of the cave in 1881 by two white men, Jesse and Tom Bingham. Starting in 2001, the National Park Service approached several Native tribes that have traditionally had affiliations with the park. Yet, only Lakota tribal councils were interested in co-operation with the park. After several rounds of consultations, the first steps were taken in 2003 to acknowledge the Lakota presence and history in the park. Since then, Lakota origin stories and Lakota history in the park have been an integral part of the new narrative. As such, Wind Cave presents an example of one form of collaboration, that is, stage of re-indigenization, where Indigenous knowledge has become an essential part of the park's operations, and new ways to take this collaboration to the next level are being planned together with park personnel and the Lakota nation. (Bear Eagle 2018; Farrell 2019; Andersson et al. 2014, 138–140; Andersson 2019.)

The next example of ongoing collaboration comes from California. Channel Islands National Park and the Channel Islands National Marine Sanctuary were established in 1980 to protect the rich marine environment of the Southern California coast. The Chumash have lived on the five islands, *Limuw*, *Tuqan*, *Wi'ma*, and *'Anyapakh*, for thousands of years. More than ten villages existed 13,000 years ago on *Limuw*, or Santa Cruz Island, alone. (Arnold 2001; Gamble 2008; Andersson 2017.) Centuries of colonization by the Spaniards, Mexicans, and Americans drove the Chumash away from their homelands by the 1830s (Arnold 2001; Gamble 2008; Cordero & Cordero 2018).

After the removal of the Chumash, the islands were inhabited by white ranchers for more than a century. Despite the harmful environmental effects of farming and cattle herding, there are still several species of endemic plants and animals living on the islands. (Chiles 2015; Eargle 2017, 234–236; Lightfoot & Otis 2009.) At the Channel Islands National Park and Marine Sanctuary (CINMS), the outside visitor is well taken care of and the diversity of the environment, geology, and history, including the Chumash past, are well explained (Andersson 2017, 2018; National Park Service). About half of Santa Cruz Island is owned by a private organization, The Nature Conservancy, which restricts access to the area. The Chumash had

no access rights to the area for decades, and even today they need to apply for a permit to visit their ancient village sites (Laughrin 2017).

The Chumash have actively sought co-operation with the National Park Service and the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration (NOAA) as well as with The Nature Conservancy (Cordero & Isha 2018, 4–5). Through several non-profit organizations, such as the Wishtoyo Chumash Foundation and Chumash Maritime Association, they have developed a relationship wherein the Chumash actually have a voice and their worldviews, traditional knowledge, and practices are being incorporated into the interpretation and management of these sacred Chumash places. (Cordero & Isha 2018, 6, 12; Wishtoyo.) Regardless of the ongoing problems and the context of settler-colonialism, Wind Cave National Park and Channel Islands National Park represent significant steps forward as Indigenous peoples seek opportunities to collaborate with government agencies. However, a case where this process of co-operation has been taken much further can be found in Canada.

Haida Gwaii (Xaayda Gwaay), the Islands of the People, known also as Queen Charlotte Islands, off the coast of British Columbia, are the traditional home of the Haida Nation. Gwaii Haanas is still today a remote place; the annual number of tourists seldom exceeds 15,000 (Gwaii Haanas National Park Reserve 2004; Haida Gwaii Observer 2016). Gwaii Haanas National Park Reserve, National Marine Conservation Area Reserve, and Haida Heritage Site were established through an interim management plan in 2010 that sets common goals and ideals for the management of the area. The co-operation between the Haida Nation and the Government of Canada began through Haida initiatives, and for the Haida it was important that the government acknowledge that the park is situated on Haida ancestral homelands and that the area includes several traditional Haida villages. To ensure Haida presence in the decision-making process, the Archipelago Management Board (AMB) was also established. The board consists of members of the Haida Nation as well as representatives of the Government of Canada and Parks Canada. At Gwaii Haanas, the interpretation of the park, like tours to the ancient villages, is conducted by Haida members, called the Watchmen. In traditional Haida culture, the Watchmen were responsible for keeping the people safe, and now their role is to protect the park’s natural and cultural heritage. (Gwaii Haanas Gina 2018.)

Finally, in 2018 a joint management plan was established. According to Parks Canada, "the Gwaii Haanas *Gina 'Waadluxan KilGulGa* (Talking about Everything) Land-Sea-People plan is the first management plan of its kind in Canada, if not the world." The management plan lays out several themes for inclusive, respectful, and sustainable management practices. These guiding principles "are based in Haida law [that] align with principles of ecosystem-based management," including themes and measures such as a precautionary approach, integrated and adaptive management, sustainable use, and equitable sharing, and they are inclusive and participatory. (Gwaii Haanas Gina 2018.)

At Gwaii Haanas, the common goals of nature protection and cultural survival/revitalization have brought together people representing seemingly differing worldviews in a working relationship that represents a sizable step forward in nature conservation and protection. It is worth noting that this collaboration was initiated by the Haida and achieved under Haida terms, the Haida emerging as equal partners with Parks Canada, representing a settler-colonial state. A similar development has taken place in northern Sweden where the Laponia World Heritage Site and four national parks are operated and managed jointly by the nine Sámibyar (Sámi communities) and Swedish government agencies. (Reimerson 2013, 32–35; Reimerson 2016, 808–826.)

Toward a Model for Re-Indigenization

The case studies introduced above have been at the center of theorizing and developing a model for the concept of re-indigenization. During the process, I have identified five preliminary stages of re-indigenization from "introduction" to "re-indigenization" (see figure 1).

Stage 1: Minimal level of collaboration, where Indigenous presence is only shown, for example in interpretive signs, or minimally represented at visitor centers and in tourist brochures.

Stage 2: Indigenous ontologies, stories, and history are brought in at various levels of interpreting the park to visitors. They are prominently displayed at visitor centers, in brochures, and so forth, but mostly introduced by park rangers or other administrative (non-native) personnel.

Stage 3: Indigenous people are widely represented in the park, in all aspects of park promotion, narrative, and interpretation, and Indigenous peoples have been consulted in the planning of

how they are represented and they themselves help interpret the park to visitors, either as hired personnel or as invited guest informants.

Stage 4: Indigenous peoples are active participants in the management and operations of the park. Much of the revenue from, for example, tourism goes to the park and the Indigenous peoples involved.

Stage 5: Full re-indigenization. Certain areas of the park or the entire park area have been returned to the Indigenous peoples, who are managing the area on their own. The best example in this category is Te Urewera National Park, in New Zealand.

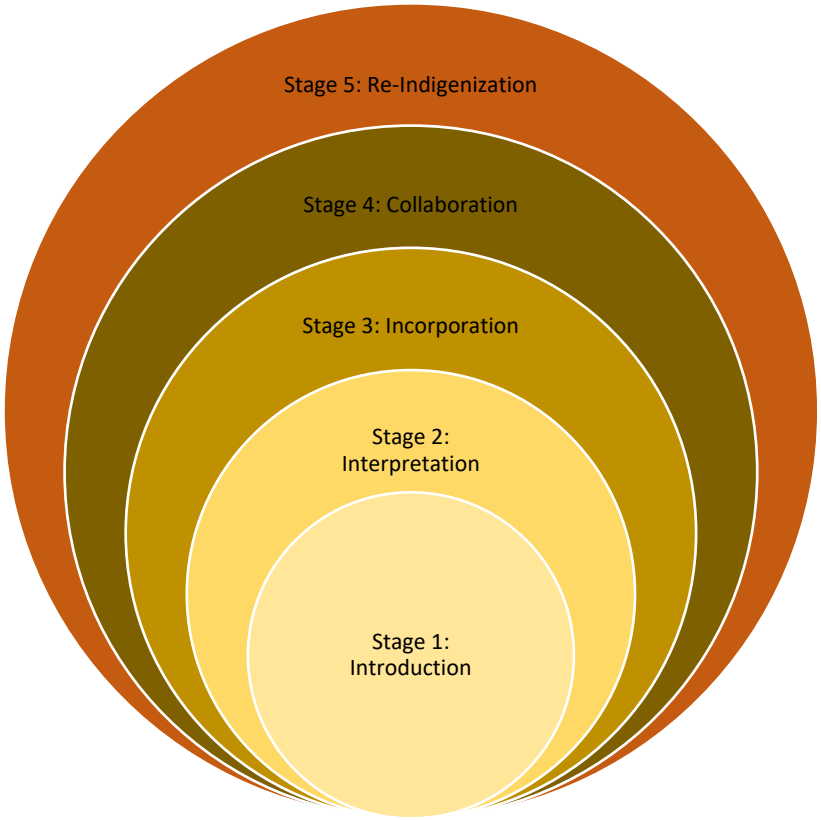

Figure 1. Stages of re-indigenization based on inclusion of Indigenous knowledge and priorities in North American national parks, as exemplified by the cases presented in this article. Each stage builds upon the previous, but sometimes invested parties may not even desire full re-indigenization. For example, Step 3: Incorporation, might be the goal for all involved parties.

The initial, rough, categorization serves as the basis for further theorizing and developing the model of re-indigenization. Other factors, including environmental, economic, political, historical, local, and cultural issues, will be considered and included. It may be that there are cases where several factors are well represented, but others are totally lacking. Therefore, a

categorization based on the different stages must be done with utmost care and following specific factors that will be further defined during the project. In some cases, it may be enough that Indigenous peoples have gained access to sacred sites within a park, in other cases a much deeper form of co-operation is called for. Thus, after determining the stages of re-indigenization, these various case studies will be brought together in a way that includes case-specific issues and questions but also investigates larger overarching themes, such as climate change, sustainability, and indigeneity.

This article and the five stages of collaboration or re-indigenization serve as an introduction to the theoretical model for re-indigenization, which can be useful across various fields of study. The model is an investigative tool that provides an integrative way of discovering traditional ecological and place-based knowledge while theorizing about it and moving the invested parties forward. It does not declare a priori what will be found, but it does provide a shared way of asking questions and working together. In this important way, it is both integrative and interdisciplinary. (Carbaugh 2019a).

Eventually, I will create a historical narrative for each selected case highlighting Indigenous agency and belonging, while also telling a narrative of Euro-American conservation and protection. While these narratives may be based on different cultural premises and may at times be antagonistic, I focus on emerging co-operation and cultural understanding through concepts and methodological tools that advance knowledge, according to my model, from colonized, to decolonized, to re-indigenized. Furthermore, while this article has focused on cases in North America, the model can be applied and further developed in other contexts involving complicated human questions of landownership, sovereignty, and indigeneity as well as in academic discourses ranging from climate change and sustainability to nature protection and Indigenous rights. Ultimately, my theoretical model for re-indigenization in the context of nature protection and conservation will lead to a fuller inclusion of Indigenous ontologies and ways of knowing that will guide nation-states and Indigenous communities to develop more humane and inclusive policies as they seek new ways to conserve, preserve, and manage the environment.

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